[Post-Chaco Period] Terena

which were familiar to them from their Chaco days. The food supply obtained through cultivation was augmented by hunting, fishing, and work on nearby cattle ranches.

Soon, however, difficulties arose. Cattlemen[1] began to encroach upon Indian lands, using these lands for grazing and, in many cases, divesting the Indians of the rights to their use. Terena lands were held under no secure title. It is said that documents relating to land grants given to Terena chiefs were often burnt over a dead chief's grave, making evidence of ownership even more uncertain. The effect of this pressure on Indian lands resulted in many of the Terena leaving settlements like Bananal and Ipegue in an effort to make a livelihood by working on the ranches and in the nearby towns of Miranda and Aquidauana. Wage work with its inevitable uncertainties caused great hardships to these homeless Indians.

With the allocation of Indian lands and the establishment of the Indian Post at Taunay in 1916 and, later, Posts in all the important settlements, economic conditions began to improve. Indian lands were parceled out in lots 45 m. square. In each village a man could obtain a lot on which he could build his house and cultivate a garden. If he wished more land he could go outside the village and use as many lots as he could effectively cultivate. These Indian lands, however, remained the property of the Brazilian Government. Indian rights were use rights only. Outside the village an Indian had only to fence in a lot and begin cultivating and as long as he used this land it remained his. He could, of course, abandon it at any time he wished, after which some other Terena could begin using it. In the village an Indian could sell his house and other improvements to another Indian, but he could not sell the land on which the property stood. Sales of this type are not common, as land is still plentiful, both inside and outside most Terena villages. In spite of these restrictions the Terena are adequately protected, as only Indians can use reservation lands. An Indian from another tribe under the protection of the Government is able to settle among the Terena with the consent of the Post manager. This practice is not common, however, and is usually restricted to Indians who marry Terena women.

The land problem, although basic, was only one of the consequences of the increasing interaction

[1] [i.e., Brazilian Cattlemen — Analyst]

[Post-Chaco Period]

between the Terena and their Brazilian neighbors. Economically, the impact of a foreign people was felt in many ways. The proximity of Brazilian farmers, cattlemen, railroad workers, and traders, in itself stimulated a desire for change in habits, customs, and beliefs. The guiding hand of the missionaries and the managers of the Indian Posts affected the life of the Terena more intimately and directly. The missionaries taught the people to wear modern clothes, to use modern tools, and to learn to read Portuguese. The managers of the Posts taught the Indians to build modern houses and to clear land and plant new crops. In addition, they taught them such handicrafts as blacksmithing, bricklaying, leatherwork, and the use of the sewing machine. Inevitably, close association with the Brazilians created changes in the needs of the Terena; the dietary pattern began to change, and new demands for clothing, ornaments, and amusements became integral parts of Terena economy.

The economic effect of these contacts and changes was the growing dependence of the Terena on the money economy of their Brazilian neighbors. In order to get clothes, tools, rice, maté tea, matches, tobacco, and alcoholic beverages the Indians needed money. The railroad and the cattle ranches offered a ready labor market and we find the Terena in increasing numbers going to work as cattle drivers and horse breakers on the ranches and as section hands on the railroad. The labor market also increased travel and a widening consciousness of the non-Indian world. The Indians became acquainted with the larger towns, such as Campo Grande and Porto Esperança. Some of the Terena were stimulated in their desire to learn to read, to do simple arithmetic, and to understand the ways of the strange new world. In addition to the demand for labor, the cattle ranches and the nearby towns of Taunay, Aquidauana, and Miranda offered a ready market for manioc meal, raw sugar, and hand-woven hammocks. In this way wage labor and trade became essential elements in Terena economy.

In spite of these changes subsistence agriculture, even today, forms the basis of livelihood. On their lots the Terena produce manioc, maize, beans, squashes, sugarcane, rice, bananas, oranges, mangoes, and a few additional minor crops. Man-

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
[Post-Chaco Period] Terena

ioc is still the staple food crop, with maize and beans coming second. Rice is highly prized, but it is expensive to buy and does not grow well in this area. Manioc and raw sugar are the principal cash crops. A few head of cattle are kept, and some of the Terena drink milk. Hogs and chickens add to the flesh diet of the people. Fishing and hunting supply only a negligible amount of food.

This, in brief, is the outline of the economic history of the Terena in the last hundred years. The shifting agriculturists, hunters, and raiders of the Chaco became settled subsistence farmers upon moving into Brazil. With the coming of the railroad and the influx of settlers there has been a gradual increase in the dependence on the money economy of the Brazilians. A more exact picture of Terena economy and the relative importance of subsistence farming and dependence on commercial transactions can be obtained if we examine the economic life of a typical village.

SOURCES OF INCOME IN A TYPICAL VILLAGE

The Indian Post of Taunay[2] today has a population of 995. As this Post contains approximately one-third of the Terena population it will serve as a reasonably satisfactory sample of Terena economic life. Statistics show that families at this Post average 5 persons, which would give the Post about 200 families. Families, as a rule, have houses and lots either inside or outside the village, but all families do not cultivate farm lots outside the village. Sources-of-income study made at this Post in January 1947 revealed the following facts:

(1) About 100 men were away from the village working on ranches, on the railroad as section hands, or at various jobs in Taunay, Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. The manager of the Post stated that 50 to 150 people are out of the Post at all times engaged in wage work. Men who work on the cattle ranches remain away from 2 weeks to 2 months, depending on the time of the year. Men who work for the railroad usually remain away for a year, often longer. If the man is married he often takes his family with him, living in quarters provided by the rail-

[2] The village is called "Bananal" by the Terena.

2:Ober:g E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7

[POST-Chaco Period] Terena

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road company. If these workers are near, they visit the Post on week ends and holidays. Usually all these workers come back to the village when they become ill or too old to work. One complaint the Protestant missionaries make is that a man will leave the village for 6 months, become ill, and then return to the village to be treated. The missionaries claim that the Indians do not take care of themselves when away from the Post, that they spend their money on cane rum instead of buying warm clothing and sufficient food. The general pattern consists in a young man spending several years away from the village, then returning, marrying, and settling in the village. After settling down he goes out to seek employment only occasionally. Since 1942, wages have risen steadily in Brazil owing to inflation, so it is difficult to determine a standard wage at present. Before the war, wages paid for farm and ranch hands ranged from 5 to 10 cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.25 to $0.50). Today, wages range from 15 to 30 cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.75 to $1.50), but this money buys no more than before the war. From what has been said it can be seen that wages form an important source of Terena income.

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(2) The manager of the Post always employs a number of Terena to work in the fields belonging to the Post, to take care of the Post livestock, and to build and repair the buildings belonging to the Post proper. The number of these workers varies; in January 1947 six men were thus employed. They received 14 cruzeiros a day. The employment of Indians by the Post has other purposes besides the maintenance of the Post. An effort is made to provide work for needy families even when the Post does not actually require their services. Another reason for employing Indians is to train them in building and in such crafts as carpentry, masonry, and blacksmithing. The welfare function of this kind of wage work is revealed by the fact that when a man with a large family is a drunkard the Post manager does not pay him in money but arranges credit for him at a store in Taunay or provides him with foodstuffs from supplies belonging to the Post.

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(3) Three men were found to be making their living by carting, that is, transporting goods be-

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[Post Chaco Period]

organized on a basis of new forms of opposition which have largely replaced the old dual organization but which continue the underlying social motives for organized opposition. The Terena are keenly aware of these new social activities and their competitive nature, and most of their leisure time is taken up in training for, carrying on, or otherwise participating in these activities. 177 182 795

The Terena admit that they had slaves when they arrived in Brazil, yet, they are, today, at a loss to explain what happened to them. As slaves were captured as children it is not likely that they returned to their original homes. On the other hand, the Terena never mention anyone as having slave blood, something which is still customary among the Caduveo. The Terena also deny that they married slaves. If this were strictly true the only tenable hypothesis is that the slave class as a social group lost its identity along with the general disappearance of social stratification. The fact that slavery was made illegal in Brazil in 1888 undoubtedly had its effect, but important, too, was the effect of the Protestant missionaries, who have been active among the Terena since 1913. 178 567 565 [648] [797]

Another circumstance which in all probability led to the disappearance of the distinction between slave and free man was the dispersion of the Terena during the eighties and nineties of the last century. The encroachment of the "fazendeiros" upon Terena lands forced the Terena to seek a livelihood through wage labor. This tended to put all Terena on the same economic and social level. When they again came together on reservation lands around 1910, the old class distinctions were more or less effaced. A new generation had grown up in the meantime which had not participated in the old pattern of tribal life. This fact of dispersion and subsequent regrouping is something which the Caduveo did not experience and may account for the more rapid disappearance of class distinctions among the Terena than is true among the Caduveo. Another contributing factor may be the fact that the Terena developed a class structure later than the Mbayá and that it never became so strong a part of their social organization as it did among the Mbayá. 178 182 565 [464] [511] [361] [171]

The primary cause for the disappearance, not only of slavery but of the whole class structure of *unati*, *shuna'asheti*, *waheneshane*, and *kauti*, was the forced abandonment of warfare and the no-

also true that the status-giving capacity of the manager and the missionaries leads to tension and discord. The role of Catholic missionaries, also Americans, is much less important. They visit the settlements only occasionally and are concerned almost solely with questions of religious belief, births, marriages, and deaths.

The economic contacts of the Terena outside the villages are restricted to the fazendas, the railroad, and the towns. It is on the fazendas and the railroad that the Terena make most of their cash incomes, and where they learn to use tools and other mechanical techniques. In the towns the Terena learn such arts as carpentry, tailoring, and masonry of a more advanced order than in the villages. In the towns, too, they come into contact with a variety of individuals, the movies, bars, and houses of prostitution. It is here where the men learn to dress better and where the girls learn the custom of using lipstick, face powder, and having their hair waved. A more organized form of contact with the towns is by means of football games played by Terena teams against the town teams.

Although every young Terena has the right to go out to work, and some of them spend a number of years away from the villages, none, so far, according to the manager of Bananal, has achieved success or independence in the Brazilian community. Sooner or later they return. In Campo Grande, the largest town in southern Mato Grosso, a young Terena was working as a waiter in a hotel. When the manager of the hotel was asked what he thought of the services of the Terena waiter, he said, "He is the laziest waiter I have." So far the Terena have not shown a capacity to advance further than supplying the common labor market on the fazendas, the railroad, and in the towns. When they grow tired of working they return to their native villages.

SUMMARY

Enough has been said to enable us to outline briefly the main features of the development of Terena social organization in post-Columbian times.

1. In association with, and perhaps in reaction to the Mbayá, the Terena developed a military and class organization based on the use of the horse for raiding. The resulting mobility led to

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121 of the Terêna into the regional society acted on the uniform
177 base represented by the tribal culture.

114 Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira did not have an easy job,
121 because /11/ there are not many studies of this type to serve
177 as precedents and, also, because these Indians have lived for two centuries in such close connection with the regional society that they have undergone all the vicissitudes of the latter's formation and settlement in the region, and they naturally present, in their way of life, many characteristics that can only be explained by the specific experiences that befell them by virtue of this connection. In these circumstances, contrary to traditional ethnological study, which does not deal with historical analysis, the author here had to cope with the task of reconstituting the living process whereby the Terêna Indians got to be what they now are, so as to distinguish what is due to tribal culture from what is due to contact situations in their process of integration into the national society.

121 In his study we follow the various Guaná groups, including
177 the Terêna, as they leave the maze of the Chaco tribes, deeply
[101] influenced by them, especially by their suzerains, the Mbayá-Guaikuru, but retaining many characteristics of the ancient Aruak, such as devotion to agriculture, which years of co-existence with peoples of rudimentary economy did not diminish.

[648] Next we watch them free themselves from Mbaya suzerainty, only to fall into a much more oppressive subordination to the neo-Brazilians who were settling in the region in the
[464] early years of the 19th century. Since then they have partici-
[162] pated ever more actively in the life of the national society, as the labor force that built nearly all that has been achieved in the region and as the chief native matrix in the population of southern Mato Grosso.

177 This role was played chiefly by the Terêna woman.
562 Taken as wife or mistress by the first settlers, she gave them
563 children who, in the majority of cases, identified to such an extent with the white father that they forgot their tribal origin.

Terena
Guarani SM4
Mbaya SK11

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4. The last estimates of the S. P. I. gives the Kaiwá with about 2,500 individuals and the Kadiwéu with barely 200, whereas the Terêna population has been increasing steadily and now numbers approximately 4,000 individuals. (Taking into account here only the Indians living in aldeas on native reserves.)

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It should also be added that this group has a certain importance on the regional labor market, where its members exercise the most varied productive activities, from the extraction of the bark of the angico--which they do with great skill--to herding and, chiefly, farming. This demographic density, along with the demonstrated ability to adjust to the most diverse socio-cultural situations, confers on the Terêna the role of rural laborers par excellence, which has assured them a place in the regional economic structure.

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The Terêna thus represent one of the Guaná or Txané subgroups which, along with other tribes of this large Aruák group, appear as those Indians who contributed most to the formation of the Brazilian Southwest, both as producers of goods for the consumption of the first Portuguese and neo-Brazilian occupants of the region and as industrious manual labor on the fazendas that began to proliferate after the Paraguayan war, not to overlook the role they played in that conflict, when they were led to fight the Paraguayan army.

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Located in an area which has for some time been integrated into the national economy and which has for centuries been contended for by the Spanish and the Portuguese, the Paraguayans and the Brazilians, it is natural that the

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175 Leverger, and Alves Ferreira. The three testimonies all date
648 back to the decade of the forties, in the 19th century, and
184 show us the Layâna, the Exoaladi ("Guanás"), and the Kinikinâu playing a much more decisive role in the regional economy, unlike the Terêna, who were apparently more isolated and, perhaps, on this account, more aloof. While
[427] they show the Layâna living as tenant farmers /agregados/ on
[439] the neighboring fazendas (118) and the "Guanás" (119) and

> 118. "The Laianas live as agregados /tenant farmers/ or camaradas /farm hands/ on the neighboring fazendas; aside from these there are some Guaicurus and Guachins." (Elliot, 1870:172.)

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> 119. "Their (the 'Guanás') crops are not only sufficient for their own consumption, but a surplus is left to them which they sell for cash or barter...." (1870:83.)
[444] Also "many of them hire themselves out for services of all sorts in various parts of the Province, and especially for river navigation." (Ibid.) Which thus shows a participation on the "Guanás" part in the regional labor market.

the Kinikinâu (120) supplying provisions to the neo-Brazilian

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gifts, which they are still receiving. Yet there was no lack of plans, regulations, and repeated orders, most of them unsuccessful, whereas the Spanish Jesuits, without any abstract ideas, without elaborating handsome theories, catechized all the nations they sought out...." (Pimenta Bueno, 1840:170.) The government tried to leave to the religious the job of assistance which it hoped would be carried out in terms of catechization.

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At the beginning of the century, the indigenous population was scattered through the fazendas of the region and its depopulated aldeas were compressed by them. Merely in that area of densest Terêna population, between Aquidauna and Miranda, the report of the commission informs us that "the line in that space crossed through the campos of four Fazendas which own about 6,000 head of cattle. Around these, others are clustered, with three times as many livestock, the principal one being the Cutape ranch, belonging to Colonel Estevão Alves Corrêa, with about 10,000 beeves. The camaradas /farm hands/ on these fazendas are for the most part Terêna Indians...." (129)

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129. 1949:82. The report defines the Terêna's working qualities as follows: "They cultivate manioc from which they make flour, bananas, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, and cotton, with which they

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make hammocks and various fabrics. --In their aldeamentos /villages/ they plant orange trees, lime trees, lemon trees, citron trees, and guava trees. They raise cows and horses and they are excellent vaqueiros." (Ibid.)

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464 And because they were good agriculturists and expert vaqueiros,
465 "they are much /69/ sought by the fazendeiros, who also prefer them because they are contented with low pay, enough to clothe themselves, eat, and satisfy their vices." (130)

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130. Idem: 83. "They are frequently exploited by the fazendeiros. --It is hard to find a Terêna camarada who does not owe his master the very hairs on his head. -- They once told me that a rich fazendeiro is in the habit, at the beginning of each year, of gathering his Terêna camaradas and telling them his settlement of accounts. To each he repeats the amount of his debt, along with facetious comments. After confronting them with their debts, he closes the episode with an extraordinary act of generosity. He subtracts a substantial percentage from their respective

176 cont./ [Cachoeirinha]

361 A third cluster of 18 ranchos, called Capão, makes up
62 the newest part of the native reservation and consists of families
[166] who came from other aldeas, especially from Lalima. It can
[556] be said that this area stands for all that is most progressive in
Cachoeirinha, including among its occupants two of the richest
177 families on the reservation. Although our aim here is to limit
433 ourselves to a descriptive explanation of the Terêna local
166 groups, we can mention that one of the factors basic to the
621 economic development of Capão is the extremely varied and rich
experience acquired by those families in their moves from one
aldea to another, frequently by way of fazendas and neo-
000 Brazilian settlements in the region. (139) Finally, both in

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139. The interviews we had with these families, as well as some "life histories," permit us to conclude that these experiences were important to the birth of a "mercantile" mentality, which is practically nonexistent in Cachoeirinha. One of the most immediate results is the employment of Indians from the central nucleus on the Capão "fazendas," particularly on that of the ambitious Terêna, Lúcio Souza, a former worker on the Noroeste do Brasil railroad and former owner of a lot in the city of Miranda (he chose to return to Cachoeirinha, because his land in the city did not allow the development of his plantations).

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[Lalima]

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361 group of seven dwellings situated near Barreiro stream, on the
621 boundaries of the reservation, in an area of campos utilized for
233 cattle-raising by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and by the Indians themselves.

361 As for the production areas of the community, it can be
311 said that three-fifths of the reservation consist of winter pastures and "second-growth" campos for cattle-raising. The remainder is used for buildings and farm plots. As can be seen, Lalima is
233 characterized by being an aldea tied to pastoral activity, in
241 spite of /the fact that most of the Indians work on/ their farm
464 plots and at the extraction of angico bark on the fazendas of
[422] the município. Very few families own cattle, and only a small number of men are called upon to work with the post stock-raising.

491 Lalima's chief means of communication with the outside are two roads; one, 48 kilometers long, that goes to Miranda, and another, about four kilometers long, that connects the
[366] aldea to Pôrto Lalima, on the Miranda River. Each of these
[439] roads has, at points favorable to trade with the Indians, a "bolicho" that supplies--at prices much higher than in Miranda--
489 varied merchandise to its population. The nonexistence of frequent and inexpensive boats to Miranda makes the most common means of access to the city the long road, which is
[161] usually traveled on foot. This seems to be the factor most conducive to the constant immigration of Terêna Indians to the
182 aldeas close to the city, as referred to earlier. Among the tribal contingents that increased the population of Lalima, the most important are the Kinikináu and the Terêna; and everything indicates that while the former remained in Lalima, the latter was the one that became the group to show the greater mobility.

[Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

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439 settlement of Morrinho. Its principal products suitable for export are manioc flour, bananas, sugar-cane juice, and unrefined sugar in small bricks /rapadura/. The members of the
464 community work on the closer fazendas and in Aquidauana, and
648 many Terêna girls work as domestics in Aquidauana. And,
177 in spite of the wide contact that the community maintains with
197 foci of culture change, such as Aquidauana, the most widely spoken language is the Terêna tongue, familiar even to the non-native members of the community. We would venture to say that this is a case of "Terenization" of the neo-Brazilian and Paraguayan population, whereas in Lalima--another multiethnic community--there was a gradual disappearance of the tribal languages, with the imposition of Portuguese as the most widely spoken language.

162 In the city of Aquidauana, in the suburban zone, there
361 live 39 families of Terêna Indians and mestizos that make up a population of slightly less than 250 individuals. Living two kilometers from the left bank of the Aquidauana River, on lands they acquired themselves, these Terêna are regarded as people of Aldeinha.

178 In 1933, three brothers, Gregório (Neco), Sebastião,
621 and José, passing through Aquidauana after leaving Buriti on their way to Bananal, decided to buy some lands at the insistence of a sister--already settled in Aquidauana--who wanted
[423] them near her, in the same city. With the sale of a few cattle and horses, they bought about 40 hectares for "1,800,000 reis."
[622] Old Neco, /two plates appear here/ /89/ to all extents and
[166] purposes the head of the community, says that immediately after settling down in that place, "compatriots" began to pour
175 in asking permission to live on those lands. Every night they
621 would station themselves at the entrance, singing religious
297 hymns. This activity made the little aldea that was forming
[533] become known as the Aldeinha /little aldea/ of the "Believers."
[598] Whether the persons who went to live there were already Protestants, or became "Believers" through the catechization

[Text continues on p.127]

/89 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

175 621 797 795 of the family of the leader, Neco, is a question we cannot discuss for lack of data. We can say, however, that the two hypotheses are not mutually exclusive and that, in all probability, both "Believers" and "non-Believers" were drawn to the new community, and that, among the latter, the majority must ultimately have been drawn by the Protestant cults and the power of persuasion of their leaders. As a result, among the 39 families mentioned, only 13 are not Protestant. It [622] must be mentioned that two of the community leaders already had experience of religious proselytism. Old Neco, for example, had collaborated in the evangelization of the Terêna of Buriti, in the place called "Agua Azul," a community regarded today as Protestant.

162 621 [144] With reference to the ethnic composition, it can be said that the Terêna, although they are not properly speaking a minority, are outnumbered by the mestizo group, that is, by those individuals whose fathers or mothers are not "pure" Terêna. Of 211 persons listed in the census, 123 are mestizos (the fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions), 78 are "pure" Terêna (children of Terêna fathers and mothers), 3 are "Purutuya"-white, 5 are "Purutuya"-Negro, and only one is 101 829 Kinikinâu (one not being included). It should be explained here that "Purutuya" is the designation in the Terêna language for the "civilizado," whether white or black, despite the fact that this term is a neologism applied initially to the Portuguese.

464 648 [241] [462] It can be said that Aldeinha lives on employment in the city of Aquidauana. Over half its inhabitants work in the city, that is, hold jobs of an urban nature, while the other part is divided in doing farm work on neighboring fazendas and small farms, or on their own farm plots. Like Limão Verde and, naturally, on a much wider scale, Aldeinha serves as a domestic workers' pool: nearly all the young girls in the community have already been employed in the homes /90/ of the city and they are constantly sought out in the aldea itself with offers of employment.

[Buriti]

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Nimuendajú. (152) It seems that only since 1920-22 did Terêna

152. In 1913, on the order of Inspetor Luiz Bueno Horta Barbosa, Nimuendajú drew up a map locating the indigenous tribes of southern Mato Grosso, the original of which is in the map collection of the Museu do Índio (Seção de Estudos, S. P. I.).

families who had come down from the top of the range begin to concentrate in that area. The oldest members of the community, when interviewed, were unanimous in their identification of that time as the date of the founding of Buriti. On the other hand, the first data supplied by reports of the Serviço do Proteção aos Índios, on Buriti aldea, already point out in 1923 a population of 420 persons, with livestock numbering 400 horses and 180 cattle. (153) But only at the end of 1927

153. Cf. Relatório Anual da Diretoria do S. P. I., p. 148, year 1923.

was the possession of 2,000 hectares of land for the usufruct of the /94/ Indians located there decreed. At this time there arrived in the community the present captain of Buriti, Joãquim Loureiro de Figueredo, (his name was borrowed from that of a former employer, a fazendeiro of the top of the mountain range), who is now almost blind and 80 years old; this captain told us that he was born in Brejão (in Laranjal aldea) and worked almost ten years on Maracaju fazendas. In 1937, Buriti had attained a population of 448 individuals, distributed in 91 ranchos; and it would have been a much larger population,

[Buriti]

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16 621 [464] [113]

if it were not for the fact that some families had left to work on fazendas. (154) But the population did not cease growing.

154. The Relatório da Inspetoria Regional de Mato Grosso, for the year 1937, says the following: "Before (1937) the number of inhabitants was greater, but some families left in search of work, in order to acquire such staples as food and clothing. The lack of agricultural implements contributed to the departure of these families." And it cannot be said that the departure of Indians from Buriti was a minor affair, when we see that already in 1926 there were in that community 450 persons living in 52 houses, according to the Relatorio da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso for that year. We see that from 1923 to 1926, in three years, the population of the aldea grew by 30 individuals; and from 1926 to 1937, aside from the population dropping slightly, we see quite a big increase in the number of ranchos: from 52 to 91--

[Buriti]

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872 invited to teach; but this was unsuccessful: the "teacher" had
875 the pupils sing religious hymns, incurring sharp criticism from
the post superintendent, who could not permit the S. P. I.
school to have a religious content, whether Catholic or
177 Protestant. Aside from these foci of culture change, that is, the
schools, the post itself, the mission, and the Catholic padres
who occasionally visit Buriti, we have the neighboring fazendas
464 and the "bolichos." As for the fazendas, it should be noted
648 that when we passed through Água Azul we did not find a single
adult male in the community; they were all working on the
fazendas and were to return to the aldea only at the end of the
366 day. And concerning the "bolichos," we found four of them
491 at the head of four of the roads that connect the reservation
797 with the outside; on the fifth road, the Evangelical mission
already referred to was situated. Thus, of the five means of
aceess to the native community, four are controlled by "bolichos"
and one by missionaries.

648 But the relations of the aldea are not limited to the
"bolichos" and to the mission referred to. Four leagues from
Buriti there is the town of Sidrolândia, with a few business
houses, a pharmacy, the prefecture, and a modest boarding
house. Between Sidrolândia and Buriti, one league from the
latter, there is a small settlement of neo-Brazilians called
Barro Prêto /"black clay"/, probably because of the great
dampness of its soil, which is quite dark and good for farming.
[439] The Indians of the community maintain regular contacts with
Barro Prêto and with Sidrolândia, only not trading with them
because of the insufficient production of goods on the reserva-
[252] tion. It should be borne in mind that the chief product in
Buriti is manioc flour, which nevertheless is not put out in
quantities larger than necessary for internal consumption.
464 Buriti is one of the communities most dependent on the regional
648 labor market; the large numbers of cattle in the aldea do not
[233] belong to the Indians but to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios,
which naturally does not require more than five peons to care

G /95 cont./ [Buriti]
464 for the cows, thus employing very few people. (The Indians
648 have the usufruct of the milk of this cattle, and more rarely
233 the meat--since beeves are slaughtered only infrequently.)

/96/ Francisco Horta

Gi
361 The 3,600-hectare reservation, supervised by the
621 Francisco Horta Native Post, is occupied chiefly by Guarani
162 Indians of the Kaiwá subgroup, who are distributed among three
[101] of the four population nuclei in the aldea: a) the central
[622] nucleus or Aldeia Farinha Sêca, where the dwelling of the
Kaiwá "Captain" João Fernandes is, located close to the
native post and where most of the Kaiwá population lives;
Gi
[133] b) Aldeia Bororó, as they call a concentration of 177 Kaiwá
[622] Indians on the banks of São Domingos stream and which has
its own chief, "Captain" Ireno Isnardi; c) also Aldeia Proterito,
subjacent to the former one, made up of only four ranchos,
with 10 Kaiwá inhabitants, on the banks of the stream of the
G
[361] same name; finally d) the fourth nucleus, called Jaguapiru, is
[621] made up exclusively of Terêna families that comprise about
[162] 180 persons living in ranchos along Saltino or Jaguapiru stream.

Gi By decree of 1917, signed by the president of the state
175 of Mato Grosso, the government donated those lands to the
621 Kaiwá local group which at that time consisted of about 550
423 individuals It seems that only after 1917 did Terêna families
162 begin to reach the reservation, coming from the top of the
G
175 Maracaju range. Everything indicates that the first families
166 were drawn there by the Coronel de Engenharia, Nicolau Bueno
621 Horta Barbosa, then inspetor of that region, with the aim of
648 stimulating Kaiwá agriculture through the known efficiency of
Terêna labor. The families that kept coming to Francisco Horta
were drawn by their relatives, who were settled comfortably
alongside the Kaiwá.

[Francisco Horta]

G /97 cont./
Gi
433 But if we were to compare the Terêna and the Kaiwá
511 populations in Francisco Horta, the latter would leave much
241 to be desired in terms of economic development. Actually
439 the difference is quite real; the Terêna families exhibit an
Gi adequate standard of living, based on good farm plots and
[464] regular trade with Dourados, aside from well-built houses similar to the neo-Brazilian dwellings in the region; whereas the Kaiwá look quite poor, tattered and with an agricultural production that is hardly enough for their own consumption, compelling them to hire themselves out for the maté industry or any other work on the fazendas of the region.

G To close this chapter, in which we endeavored to analyze
621 from an ecological standpoint the present configuration and
433 distribution of the Terêna local groups, we can say that all
648 the communities studied are characterized by being turned
464 toward the outside: not only through the fact that the Terêna
177 try to place all of their production on the regional market (leaving a small part for their own consumption), but also, and principally, through their being hired by the fazendas, where they find their principal source of income. We have seen in this brief analysis how rare are the /98/ cases of self-sufficient Terêna families, understanding by this the fact that they are not obliged to work outside their own lands for their survival. Nearly all of the useful population (from 20 to 50 years of age) is connected with the regional labor market, al-
[171] though as a mobile group. This permits us to state that here is a phenomenon of economic integration of the highest degree, when we compare the Terêna with other tribal groups that are also "integrated into Brazilian society," (156) but not necessarily assimilated by it.

121 156. We use the concept of "integrated" to characterize the end situation of a continuum at the opposite extreme of which are the "isolated"

[Text continues on p. 142]

/99 cont./

121 is and what form it assumes in the various communities visited
[184] [621] by us. In the preceding chapter we made quite clear the variety of configurations and the considerable differentiation existing among communities, insofar as, for example, ethnic composition or even antiquity itself is concerned.

184 Taking the first variable, we have, on the one hand,
162 621 the following aldeas: Cachoeirinha, Bananal, Ipegue, Passarinho, Moreira, União, Buriti, and Brejão, as ethnically homogeneous communities, with more than 90 per cent Terêna individuals; on the other hand, we have Lalima, Francisco Horta, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha, (158) made up of survivors

158. It is possible to include in this same category São João aldea: with Terêna and Kinikináu Indians and a large number of mestizos.

of already extinct groups such as the Kinikináu, Layâna, and Guaikuru, or of Guarani or Paraguaian individuals, where the Terêna are in the minority or in the same numbers as the others. In these latter communities we would also have to consider the index of mestizos--fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions--, who in some of the aldeas are of great importance for a socio-cultural characterization.

184 As for the second variable, we might imagine a
175 "gradient" /100/ in which we would have at one extreme
621 Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal, and at the other, Buriti,
177 Aldeinha, and União, without leaving out the Terêna "community" of Francisco Horta, whose components reached that Guarani aldea no earlier than 1917. The time when the aldea was formed is very important to the present inquiry, insofar as it helps us to understand the greater or lesser resistance of
● [164] [166] the communities to change. The older communities, such as those referred to above, show greater cultural vitality, revealing

/100 cont./

184 a lower index of deculturation in comparison with the newer
175 ones, whose components had a lengthier experience of non-
621 communal life, hired out as they were to the great fazendas
177 of the region. The high mobility of these Indians, moving
464 from fazenda to fazenda, did not permit a more permanent
166 co-existence of families, necessary for the establishment of greater group solidarity and for keeping alive the tribal "we." Few of the families remained together for a long period in a fazenda "colônia"; for the very reason that those who did stay did not leave the fazendas in search of "lands of their own"; they remained settled in their own "community," as long as they found there sufficient "tribal consensus," supplemented by a consistently reliable labor market. This is the case, for example, of the Terêna "colônia" on the fazenda of Sr. Raymundo Correia, in Duque Estrada, comprising six ranchos and a considerable number of children who attend
[466] the settlement school. Nevertheless, the great majority of fazendas offered the worst possible working conditions, whereby the individual received, in kind, the minimum necessary for his survival, while working, a fact that is explicative of his high mobility.

184 In spite of the differences pointed out in the previous chapter and susceptible--as we have seen--of classification into polar categories, we note a considerable cultural uniformity when we take the Terêna population as a whole. There is a common denominator that permits us to regard the local groups as made up of a relatively homogenous population from the
184 cultural standpoint. It can be said that the Terêna cultural
177 patrimony adapted to a variety of interethnic and intertribal
178 contact situations, without presenting on this account important differences in terms of the pattern of behavior. The latter seems to have remained relatively constant throughout the communities, although /101/ this does not mean that this behavior remained immune to such objective conditions as the politico-religious situation of the aldea or intervention from

648 /102 cont./ This labor is ordinarily carried out by the
621 Indians themselves, who are paid especially for this, but this
433 does not exclude the hiring of a "Purutuya," nearly always in
[464] the capacity of a post employee. The superintendents explain
[465] that this production reverts to the benefit of the post and the aldea, while part of it is also laid aside for those families whose heads, for reasons of illness, are unable to support them. (160)

160. This expressed a wish on the part of the officials rather than reality. In the first place, because production, with rare exceptions, was relatively insignificant, often almost nonexistent; in the second place, because the income resulting from production was not always put to use in the aldea or post itself, but channeled to Rio de Janeiro, where it was deposited as native revenue, to be applied to Indian assistance generally, at the discretion of the S. P. I. Diretoria. For these reasons, the Indian never participated in this work with enthusiasm, since he only rarely benefited from the revenue obtained by the post.

[461]

184 There are posts, for example, which are characterized
621 by possessing good herds of cattle, such as Lalima, Buriti,
433 and Brejão, whereas others have an agriculturally oriented economy, with their plots of rice, cane, and manioc, and recent experiments with small coffee plantations. Cachoeirinha can be taken as the most representative of this latter type.

/102 cont./

433 can be taken as the most representative of this latter type.
648 As for the extraction of angico on reservation lands, or of timber itself, for commercial purposes, this varies according to the central administration, in Rio de Janeiro, which now permits it, now forbids it, pleading, in the second case, the
[434] protection of the native patrimony. The fact is that this extractive activity is not a regular source of income for the post or for the Indians.

184 In regard to the economy of the native community proper,
621 the differences relating to the systems of production are not
433 so great as to lead to the establishing of different types of communities. It can even be said that the cattle of Buriti, for example, or the rice fields of Cachoeirinha, influenced the character of native production in the respective communities very little or hardly at all. Few are the families /103/ that benefit from the post production, whether through receiving seeds in considerable quantities, or through having access to a good breed of cattle to improve their herds. The great majority of the population are left aside from the post's economic
[241] program. And what characterizes the families is that they
[464] work on plots of their own (sweet and bitter manioc, beans
[511] [feijão miudo], and sometimes rice) which are not even sufficient for the family subsistence, achieved only with the
184 men's employment on the regional labor market. As we could
511 see in Chapter V from the study of individual communities,
434 the great majority of Terêna families, regardless of the aldeas
464 to which they belong, satisfy their most basic needs by
[463] combining the produce of their fields with money earned out-
[314] side the reservation, whether tending the cattle or pack oxen of the fazendeiros of the region, or in agricultural work, for which the demand is constantly increasing--as coffee cultivation is taken up by the neighboring middling and small farmers--, or in the extractive industry, where the Terêna are experts in the difficult art of extracting angico bark without damaging it.

G /103 cont./
184 damaging it. (161) Aside from these activities, there are those
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161. We exclude the extraction of maté, since Terêna Indians do not work at it. Witness Francisco Horta, in Dourados, a maté area, where the Terêna community stands aloof from that industry, whereas the Kaiwá find it their chief productive activity.

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[245]

related to the cities, which are undertaken by a considerable number of Indians from aldeas such as Passarinho, Moreira, Limão Verde, and, to a lesser extent, Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal, /all of which/ are close to Miranda and Aquidauana.

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511
433 This situation--of the homogeneity of the Terêna economy, seen in general terms--does not preclude, however, the existence of some native families that are practically "self-sufficient," i.e., families that, operating as efficient production units, forego the possibilities of work coming from the outside. The average number of such families, per aldea, is not more than two. In such cases, the nature of the post production is important, not so much because it is responsible for the type of production developed by these families, but simply
G because the two economies coincide since they both undergo
184 the same ecological conditioning. Thus, in Lalima and Brejão,
233 reservations with excellent pasture ground, we have Terêna
511 families with herds sufficiently large to permit a relative economic /104/ independence. (162) In Bananal and

162. Buriti, in spite of its pastoral character, does not

/126 cont./

*177 369 [571] [829] [464] them, in a general way, nostalgic for the "good times" of life in the aldeas. But for various reasons they remain in the city, raise their children there, or build up their families there. On the other hand, the aldea Terêna, although integrated in the regional economic structure--since they are active in the labor market--, remain more resistant to culture change and more attached to their ethnic origins /etnia/. Segregated in independent aldeas or on reservations, they remain in communities with high "esprit de corps," which make their assimilation unlikely. As we can see, social mobility, combined with /127/ acculturation, makes it possible, under certain circumstances, for the assimilation process to be carried to its ultimate consequences, or, in other words, to be completed.

[361] [186] [571]

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/129/ VIII. The Mechanisms of Assimilation

121 128 In the examination in which we are engaged, with respect to the assimilation process, pointing out two of its most explicative dimensions--acculturation and mobility--, we indicated certain psycho-social mechanisms that operate within it and that seemed basic to us. Our purpose now is to carry forward the analysis, endeavoring to discern the content itself of these mechanisms through a survey of the socio-cultural factors that stimulate and favor assimilation, as well as those that make it difficult or impede it. The former we shall call convergent and the latter divergent.

Convergent Factors

*177 369 [181] 1. The attraction exercised by the city on the Terêna population, as a whole, leads us to regard it as one of the most important factors in the assimilation process, especially when urban life creates prospects of higher remuneration, better recreation, and better education for their children.

/131 cont./

life represents a rise in their standard of living in relation to the aldea or fazenda, in terms of the salaries they draw, the greater ease with which they find work (because the labor market is broader), as well as the prospect of a richer and more varied recreational life (which is not always fulfilled) and the hope of giving their children a better education (which is generally fulfilled, not always in the schools but rather in the urban "praxis"). As the urbanization process seems to constitute a most effective mechanism of assimilation--as we saw in the last chapter--, the attraction exercised by the city over the Terêna can be regarded as a very important factor for their incorporation into the national society, which is to say, for their assimilation.

2. Military service is another important factor, but which, of course, applies only to the male population. It presents to the young Terêna prospects of new experiences, supplies them with a document that broadens considerably their possibilities of obtaining more stable employment, so that, eventually, when he returns to the aldea, /132/ the state of being a reservist is a constant source of prestige, especially in relation to younger men and to the young single women of the community.

From this desire to travel and to know new places--already pointed out in various studies on the mobility of tribal peoples in interethnic contexts--, (202) the young Terêna could

202. Cf., for example, in relation to Africa, I. Schapera, 1947:115 ff.; in relation to North America, Elizabeth Colson, 1953:158 ff. As for the role of military service, see especially Robert H. Ewald, 1957:164 ff. (Central America).

/132 cont./

*177 not be exempt, especially since he has the opportunity to leave
701 his aldea without spending any money, "with bed, board, and
181 clothing," as /the army/ claims. To him, the barracks gives him the possibility of being treated as a "civilizado," equal
[702] to a "Purutuya." Also, the expectation of instruction, in the extremely practical and modern sense of learning the rules of conduct of life among "civilizados," i.e., the customs and laws of Brazilian society, becoming trained for interethnic living together, is one of the most powerful stimuli for the Terêna to enlist in military life, even though for a short time. On some occasions we could hear in the aldeas, during discussions, the phrases "so-and-so is not familiar with the rules of conduct," or "so-and-so was a soldier, but he did not learn the rules of conduct," or else "so-and-so learned the rules of conduct, but instead of teaching us he is the first one to fight," etc., etc., all of them referring to the condition of being a reservist as
[648] an obligation for an individual to be "more civilized." On the
[156] other hand, the ill-will shown by the officials of the S. P. I. toward the young Terêna reservists is indicative of the extent to which this condition makes an individual a person more demanding and more skillful in the defense of his own interests.

701 More recently, however, it seems that military service,
181 as the supplier of an indispensable document for one who desires
●464 a better-paid job, tends to exercise an ever greater attraction.
369 In the interviews we carried out in Cachoeirinha and in the cities, we found out how necessary a reservist card is for urban work. Along with the labor card, the reservist is the document most desired by the Terêna, whether by those who live in aldeas (some), or by those who are urbanized (all). Later on we shall see why the lack of documents can be regarded as a divergent factor. We only wish to make it clear that, while the document was needed only for city work, /133/ this was not the case for rural work, such as on fazendas or in colônias, which leads us to believe that the detribalized (but not urbanized) Terêna have less reason to do military service.

/139 cont./ There is no doubt that the
*66 177 648 gradual political awakening of the Terêna has been an incentive to assimilation, by contributing to the intensification of inter-ethnic relations with a clearly defined objective, such as playing a role in "Purutuya" politics, i.e., to obtain symmetrical relations, or, in some cases, such as that of the urbanized Indians, to fight for the rights of the class to which they belong. For this reason, we can regard the activity of the political parties, directly or indirectly, as a convergent factor of the greatest importance in the process of assimilation.

*177 557 6. With the exception of the factors noted in the first two paragraphs (1 and 2), in which we dealt with the attraction the cities exercise on the Terêna, and of military service as the source of new experiences and advantages to the young Indian man, the other factors operate exclusively on the plane of acculturation, not exercising any appreciable influence on social mobility. The case of the councilman mentioned above, in perspective, does not permit us to judge the importance of the increase in political awareness on this last-mentioned plane, since his case seems to be the only one with which we are acquainted up to now. There is no case of spatial mobility or of social climbing through political mechanisms. The factor [464] that plays the most significant part in the occurrence of social mobility is the labor market. In it, as has already been mentioned several times, the Terêna hold an important place from various standpoints.

*177 464 These Indians made up the basic labor force, for a long time, /140/ on the fazendas that formed in southern Mato [178] Grosso, especially in the proximities of the region they occupied. With the railroad and the resulting population growth in the southern part of the state, their importance naturally decreased, but they did not cease to be recruited for agricultural work, herding, and especially, the extraction of timber and angico bark, and the retention of their place on the regional labor [461] market was thus assured. Among these varieties of work, they [147] have no peers in the extractive tasks, for which they have

/140 cont./

developed a superior technique, in combination with the great endurance which they show in a most arduous form of labor. It is general knowledge in Mato Grosso that there is no better casqueiro /"bark stripper"/ than the Terêna. At a "round table" we held in Duque Estrada, in 1955, we had the opportunity to hear the testimonies of three fazendeiros, who were unanimously favorable to the Indian as a laborer, in spite of the fact that at first they tried to disparage him, only changing their attitude and giving up the stereotypes after an intensive discussion among them which we stimulated. They finally agreed that the Terêna is the /basic/ regional manual laborer, and even the manual laborer in highest demand: "He works well, lives on little, and is very obedient."

The extraction of angico bark or, simply, of timber, seem to be preferential productive activities of the aldea Terêna, with the exception, of course, of work on their own farm plots. In 1957 the leader of a work gang could earn 80 cruzeiros a day, and the men under him 65 cruzeiros. Such undertakings do not bring them as much as it might seem, because expenses are very high: food, clothing, and work tools; aside from this, the days when they are away from their families--from about one week to one month--are regarded as very tough: the sleeping arrangements are worse, they have no women, the food is bad, and the money they bring back does not make up for it....But even so, they prefer to wander from fazenda to fazenda, i.e., changuear, always returning to the aldea, to leaving it and settling with their family in some "colônia." The work pattern of most of these Indians is a combination of the changa, i.e., sporadic work for masters, with planting on their own "lots," in the aldea.

The nonmanual labor in the city, or the craft work in the country, for the aldea Indian, represents a "saving of the body," and thus /141/ an incentive to giving up the traditional production activities. Let us take, as an illustration, the case of the Indian, Arlindo: this Terêna, a young man of 28, had begun work in the bakery trade in the city of Aquidauana,

/141 cont./

rather actively in the social mobility of the Terêna, impelling him to try to change his "trade" or, better, to acquire skill in a nonmanual trade, wherever the opportunity arises. Since what little craft work to be found in the aldea /142/ itself, such as metal work, leather work, or tailoring, is not sufficient to exempt those who exercise it from agricultural tasks and work on the fazendas, a move to the cities (physical mobility) appears to the Terêna as the sole possibility for a real change of occupation (horizontal mobility) while at the same time it might raise him in social life (vertical mobility). While such a new occupation is not always achieved, as in the case of Arlindo, the attempts and efforts exerted to obtain it always yield new experiences to the individual and, indirectly, to the group. We may conclude that the labor market, both urban and rural, to the extent that it draws the Terêna outside his aldea, is creating conditions for his assimilation.

Divergent Factors

1. The existence of a peculiar physical appearance as well as language, creates barriers which are extraordinarily difficult to overcome, since the Terêna is discriminated against wherever he goes. This applies to the aldea Indians, and in a sense to those on the fazendas--as far as the phenotype is concerned--more than among those living in the cities, who for the most part speak Portuguese correctly and without an accent, while at the same time they dress better and are practically undifferentiated from the neo-Brazilian of the less-favored classes. Their very physical type blends with that of the biologically mestizo population (207) which, on its part, never

207. We say "biologically mestizo" in spite of being aware that we are falling

/144 cont./ But in the cities,
*177 i.e., among the urbanized Terêna, the knowledge of the
191 Terêna language is rarer among the new generations and more
369 common among the old people (emigrated from aldeas).
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*177 There is no need to emphasize the importance of the
191 Terêna language and the Mongoloid phenotype as factors that
142 help to hinder assimilation, since they are characterized as "racial marks."

*177 2. There are other factors, however, that act in a diver-
212 gent way in the assimilation process, while hindering the attain-
● 464 ment by the Terêna of better-paid and more stable jobs. Such is the lack of documents, already mentioned earlier, when we
[465] discussed the reservist's card. The "passes" supplied by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are not accepted by employers or, at best, are only partially accepted, i.e., the bosses, claiming that the "passes" do not have the same value as the work card (to get which it is necessary to have a birth certificate from the registry office), or, at least, the reservist's card, end up by rationalizing the low wages they pay. The interviews we carried out, however, show that there is already an awareness among the Terêna of the fact that it is indispensable to possess some identification, especially a work card, without
[369] which they cannot obtain better jobs. Although it is the Indians living in the cities who feel the lack of identification most acutely, those living in aldeas are already beginning to see how necessary this is, especially those who live in communities close to the urban centers (such as Aldeinha, Passarinho, Moreira, and Cachoeirinha).

*177 While the craft, industrial, or merely urban occupations
461 (public sanitation, school and movie employees, servants, etc.)
369 exercise a great attraction for the Terêna, it must be said that
511 once their objectives are realized, it is common for them to feel dislocated in the new occupation, to the extent that they return to the aldea to work on their farm plots, even if this results in lowering their standard of living. Even those Terêna who have reasonably good jobs in the cities and who enjoy a

/145 cont./

*177 conditions infinitely superior to those of the period of the
648 "captivity" to which the Terêna were subjected after the
125 Paraguayan war. As some of the remaining local groups were reorganized and as new communities were formed, on land protected by the federal government, the Terêna population was able to resist the highly dissociative effects of interethnic contact, especially at a time when the defensive equipment (cultural and biological) of these Indians was quite reduced and not very potent. /146/ This probably explains the phenomenon of Terêna survival, in contrast to the disappearance of the other Guaná subgroups, the Layâna and the Kinikináu, the first to be reached by the pastoral front, after considerable exposure to the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries; when the Rondon Commission arrived--a time that marks the beginning of protection, on the basis of a new ideology about the natives--these tribes had vanished completely as groups (the Layâna), or were terribly reduced (the Kinikináu), unequipped to bear the ups and downs of protection itself.

*177 Once their lands had been assured, the result of this
648 protectionist policy was segregation. Let it be noted: not a segregation imposed by the S.P.I., by direct, persuasive, or violent means; but a natural consequence of the creation of reservations, in an area where the tribal population was barbarously exploited. Not a few fazendeiros and "colonels" spoke out against the protectionist policy, because it "usurped"
*177 from them land and free labor. The Terêna believe that the
648 majority of the population that did not return to the aldeas, did
829 not because they settled on fazendas whose owners paid or
● 464 went on to pay adequately for native labor; accustomed to
162 the place and having guaranteed work, those Terêna--who underwent an intensive process of detribalization--chose to remain on the fazendas where they were, or else, became a mobile labor force, going from fazenda to fazenda in accordance with the oscillations of the regional labor market.